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TODAY and TOMORROW

India At Cross-Roads

FOR the last few days our columns have been full of the Indian question—Lord Wavell's proposals for solving the political deadlock in India and the reactions to these proposals both within India and among Indians in East Asia. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in a series of statements and radio addresses to India has made the position clear for us. The diabolic intentions of the British Government have been brought to light, and the perfidy of Wavell and his masters in Whitehall stands exposed in all its nakedness.

The next few days are pregnant with great possibilities. India is once again at the cross-roads of her history. A false step taken at this juncture would precipitate us into the morass of reaction and communalism, from which it may take decades to extricate ourselves. Fifty years of patient struggle and untold sufferings on the part of our people have brought India almost to the threshold of the cherished goal. Acceptance of the Wavell plan would be a retrograde measure. We cannot afford to go back after having travelled so far along the road to freedom.

The Indian struggle is part of a world struggle by subject peoples to achieve nationhood and freedom. War is a strange thing. Although its immediate effect is destructive, it lets loose forces which cause a levelling of inequalities, and bring about a more just order. Out of the ashes of the last war, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia rose to freedom. Defeated Turkey retrieved her honour and became great. Prostrate and feeble Russia effected a revolution and became a mighty power. In this war, too, forces are already at work among suppressed peoples urging them irresistably on to their goal of independence. Syria and Lebanon have set the example for other subject countries.

As the war continues India too will be provided with ample opportunities by seizing which we will be able to further our ends. India has already become an international issue, live and crying for solution. The world realizes more and more that there can be no peace as long as India is discontented and in bondage. Although Britain has stifled the voice of India, friendly nations have taken up India's cause in international conferences.

And if at this juncture we were to accept the Wavell Plan and seek a compromise, we would be doing a distinct disservice to India. Acceptance of the Viceroy's offer would drag India down from the domain of international politics. India would then become purely a domestic problem of the British Empire. We would lose the sympathy and support of the world in our freedom struggle.

For us in East Asia there is only one course—to reject the British proposals and to fight on till the cause for which we lifted up arms sixteen months ago is vindicated, till India's independence is achieved.

Admiral Nimitz Admits Colossal Okinawa Losses

Lisbon, June 21 (Domei)—American Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz's Headquarters today reported in a Guam dispatch that 9,602 American Army, Navy and Marine personnel have been killed and 25,514 others wounded in the Okinawa operations up to May 24.

In the fight for the Okinawa Group alone, Nipponese Kamikaze pilots were said to have sunk 18 American fleet units and damaged at least 49 others.

Nimitz's latest admission indicates that the American Navy so far has suffered 43 ships sunk and 103 others damaged in the Okinawa and Ryukyu combined operations, as the United States Navy Department recently revealed that the Ryukyu operations cost the Americans 25 ships sunk and 54 others damaged.

Nimitz's communique at the same time disclosed that Brigadier-General Claudius Easley, Assistant Commander of the American 96th Division on Okinawa, was killed in action on June 19, the day after Lieut.-General Simon Bolivar Buckner, Commander of the United States 10th Army, lost his life as the result of Nipponese artillery action.

Bitter Fighting

Tokyo, June 22 (Domei)—Bitter fighting which has been raging especially since June 18 along the whole front in the southern sector of Okinawa Island continued with unabated fury during Wednesday, according to frontline dispatches. The dispatches added the enemy's attacks were most furious in the Yayesedake salient in the central section with the unmistakable object of infiltrating into Nippon positions there.

Nippon defenders are now furiously counter-attacking enemy forces in this salient.

Toyohashi And Shizuoka Indiscriminately Raided

Nagoya, June 21 (Domei)—Some 200 B-29's from Mariana bases conducted indiscriminate incendiary raids on Toyohashi and Shizuoka in the small hours of Wednesday morning, the Headquarters of the Tokai Army District Command revealed in a communique released at noon yesterday. The communique said fires were caused to start at a number of places in Shizuoka and Toyohashi. However, they were generally brought under control by 5 o'clock in Shizuoka and by 8 o'clock in Toyohashi.

Damage caused in these two cities as a result of enemy raids and war results chalked up by our air defence forces are at present under investigation, the communique added.

Fighting Breaks Out At Syrian Frontier Post

Zurich, June 20 (Domei)—A Beirut dispatch today reported that fighting broke out at the frontier post of Deherablus, in north-west Syria near the Turkish border, yesterday when French troops fired on local levies who were deserting.

British military authorities, the dispatch said, regard the incident as resulting from French violation of British orders.

Wavell's Offer Calculated To Kill Two Birds At One Shot—To Perpetuate India's Slavery To Eternity & To Alienate Foreign Sympathisers Of Enslaved India

"Lord Wavell's offer (for the solution of the Indian political problem) is calculated to kill two birds in one shot. Firstly, that the offer, if accepted, will guarantee India's wholehearted participation in Britain's imperialist war. Secondly, it will convert the Indian issue into a domestic issue of the British Empire and thereby forestall and preclude all help to India in the international field from all friendly powers, including Soviet Russia."

"The more I think, the more am I convinced that incalculable harm will be done to the Congress and to India by accepting this offer. We shall be putting back the clock by at least 25 years. All that we shall gain in return will be a few jobs in the Executive Council for some ambitious Congressmen."

So states Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in a broadcast to his countrymen in India from Syonan yesterday, further analysing the implications and the suicidal effects of Lord Wavell's offer.

The following is the text of Netaji's broadcast:

Sisters and Brothers in India!

During the last three days I have been speaking to you from a broader point of view—both national and international. And I have been considering the Indian problem in its proper setting—that is against the international background. Judging from the reports reaching us through various news agencies, it appears that those who are giving focal expression to their views today are approaching the Indian problem from a very narrow and short-period point of view. Most of those who view the Indian problem from the correct point of view cannot easily make their voice heard outside India—particularly because some of them are now in custody.

If Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee had insisted on the release of all political prisoners prior to any negotiations with the British Government, then we could have had no cause for anxiety. If the release of all political prisoners had taken place and a full meeting of the All-India Congress Committee had been held, then the opinion of the entire Congress organisation would have made itself heard.

The British Government, cunning as it is, has deliberately kept the rest of the political prisoners in custody and released only the members of the Congress Working Committee, so that the opinion of the entire Left-Wing of the Congress may be effectively muzzled. I have no doubt in my mind that public opinion in India—and, in particular, the Congress organisation—has moved much further in a revolutionary direction since the beginning of the present war in 1939.

Consequently, if a plenary session of the Congress were held today—or even a full meeting of the All-India Congress Committee—Lord Wavell's offer would be rejected by an overwhelming majority. The British Government and Lord Wavell know the Indian situation and they realise that if the British offer had been left to the verdict of Congressmen in general, or even of the All-India Congress Committee, then there would not be the slightest chance of its acceptance.

They have, therefore, created a situation in which only the members of the Congress Working Committee will decide about Lord Wavell's offer on behalf of the Congress.

According to the Congress Constitution the Working Committee cannot make a final decision on behalf of the Congress on such an all-important issue. I am, however, prepared to admit that if the Congress Working Committee had represented all sections of the Congress—or if there had been a real emergency—there might have been some moral though not legal justification for the Congress Working Committee to handle this all-important issue. But it is well known that the Left Wing of the Congress, which is influential, is not represented on the Working Committee and nobody can maintain that there is such an emergency in the country that the Working Committee is obliged to make a momentous decision behind the back of the All-India Congress Committee and of the rank and file of the Congress.

I can understand that the British Government, to achieve its own end, has so manoeuvred that Lord Wavell's offer has been placed—not before the All-India Congress Committee or a plenary session of the Congress—but only before the Congress Working Committee. But I cannot understand why members of the Working Committee are walking into the trap laid by Lord Wavell. Apart from the provisions of the Congress Constitution according to which the Working Committee is merely an executive body and not a deliberative or law-making body from the purely moral point of view, it is wrong and unfair for the Working Committee to dispose of such a matter which might affect the future of the Congress and of India for several decades.

Even at this late hour I earnestly and humbly appeal to Mahatma Gandhi not to make a decision behind the back of the Congress. I make this appeal particularly because by accepting the offer, we shall be repudiating the fundamental principles and resolutions of the Congress and we shall be undoing the work and sacrifice of the Congress over a long period.

Congress Goal

I shall now say a few words as to what we shall be undoing by accepting Lord Wavell's offer. First and foremost, the goal of the Indian National Congress is complete independence, while Lord Wavell's offer scrupulously avoids even mentioning the word "Independence."

Secondly, since 1939, the Congress has refused to participate in Britain's imperialist war. The Congress has done much and suffered much because of its anti-war policy. But the fundamental basis of Lord Wavell's offer is that all those who accept the offer will have to pledge themselves to wholehearted participation in Britain's war in the Far East—and this war cannot be described by any stretch of imagination as a war in defence of India.

Thirdly, acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer will mean the repudiation of the "Quit India" resolution of 1942. After the acceptance of the offer, the Congress will have to give up the slogans "Liberty or Death" and "Do or Die" and devise other slogans which will

(Continued on next page)

MASS MEETING OF INDIANS

On Sunday, 24th June 2605

when **NETAJI** will Address You on Wavell's Offer, Its Implications, Its Relations with World Politics and Our Freedom Movement in East Asia.

(Time and Venue of Meeting and Other Details Will Be Announced Later)

Wavell's Offer Calculated To Kill Two Birds At One Shot— To Reduce India To Eternal Slavery And To Alienate Foreign Sympathisers

(Continued from previous page)

express the ideas embodied in Lord Wavell's offer. I should like to know how the Congress could be distinguished from the Liberal Federation if it were to give up its fundamental principles and resolutions and accept the present offer.

As I have said in my previous talks, under normal circumstances no Congressman would have even looked at Lord Wavell's offer not to speak of giving consideration to it. The only psychological explanation of the present compromising attitude of several Congress leaders is that they probably feel that the Anglo-Americans are going to win this war and that there is no hope of our achieving independence.

This appreciation of the situation is entirely wrong. In spite of the recent successes of the Anglo-Americans in Europe and in Burma, the Indian issue has become a live issue in international affairs. Whatever the ultimate issue of the war in East Asia may be, even the Anglo-Americans have had to admit that the coming campaign in East Asia is going to be a very long and bitter one and that the armed forces of Nippon will fight every inch of ground.

Even in Burma in spite of our recent reverses, bitter fighting is going on in many sectors and in several parts of that country. While Nippon will go on fighting with all the strength, tenacity and courage of which man is capable of, Indians in East Asia will also continue their fight against the British and their allies.

I.N.A. To Fight On

In spite of the many recent losses suffered in Burma, the main force of the Azad Hind Fauj remains intact and the Azad Hind Fauj will go on fighting to the last man and to the last round. If Indians at home do not give up resistance to British Imperialism, nothing can prevent the attainment of India's independece by the end of this war. By a combination of resistance inside India, armed struggle in East Asia and diplomacy in the international field, India will certainly emerge as an independent state by the time this war ends.

For the achievement of liberation these three factors have to be guaranteed: armed struggle in East Asia, which is in a position to guarantee. Britain also give this assurance that if resistance to British Imperialism is kept up inside India, then India will remain an international issue; and diplomacy in the international field will be able to help our cause considerably.

Lord Wavell's offer is calculated to kill two birds in one stone. Firstly, that the offer, if accepted, will guarantee Britain's wholehearted participation in Britain's imperialist war. Secondly, it will convert the Indian issue into a domestic issue of the British Empire and thereby forestall and prevent all help to India in the international field from all friendly powers, including Soviet Russia.

In this connection I should like to repeat what I said in a statement issued by me on the 8th instant. In that statement I disclosed information reaching me from very reliable sources to the effect that the origin and motive behind Lord Wavell's sinister offer was the demand of the British Government that India should supply all manpower needed for the coming campaign in East Asia—in regions beyond Burma and in the Pacific. If the British Government could have obtained from India that much-needed help, without the co-operation of the Indian people Wavell's offer would, in all probability, not have seen the light of day. But the British Indian Army, like the British Army, being war-weary, the British Government and Lord Wavell felt that it was necessary to rouse public sympathy and enthusiasm in India in order to obtain military aid in so large a measure.

Azad's Statement

In an agency report which is before me today, I find that the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that if the present negotiations failed, the Congress should wait till the end of the present war before launching a struggle again. I cannot agree with the Congress President that we should not renew the struggle at home while the war is on—but I certainly agree with him that at the end of the war—if India still happens to be enslaved—the Indian people at home will have another opportunity of launching a large-scale offensive against British Imperialism and I have no doubt in my mind that in that post-war campaign the demobilised members of the present Indian Army will play a very important role.

Since it is apparent that most of the Indian leaders who are now free are considering Lord Wavell's offer not from the broader but a very narrow and short-period point of view, I shall now consider what our comparative losses and gains will be if we accept that offer.

What Lord Wavell has offered us if we agree to wholehearted participation in the coming war in the Far East are as follows:—

1. A promise of self-government.
2. Some jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and
3. The restoration of Congress Ministries in the Provinces.

All these three things have always been before us. The British Government has always promised us self-government. Secondly, we had eight ministries under our control in the provinces in 1939 and they resigned voluntarily. Thirdly, jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council have always been open to Congressmen who were prepared to sell themselves.

It may be remarked that the present offer gives us more seats in the Executive Council. But, as against that, there is an express stipulation that acceptance of the offer will mean wholehearted participation in Britain's war.

In Britain, many people are waxing eloquent over the merits of the offer on the ground that a considerable advance has been made in the Indianisation of the Executive Council. I hope that no Congressmen will adopt a similar attitude—because what the Congress demands is not Indianisation of the services, or Indianisation of the Executive Council—but the withdrawal from India of British power, wherein are included the Viceroy, as well as the British Commander-in-Chief.

I should like to ask those Congressmen who are today so keen about accepting Lord Wavell's offer, with what face we shall go back to the ministries, which we voluntarily gave up in 1939. I should also like to ask why the Congress condemned Sri Aney and Dr. Khare—who accepted jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council—if the Congress is now going to do so.

The more I think, the more am I convinced that incalculable harm will be done to the Congress and to India by accepting this offer. We shall be putting back the clock by at least 25 years. All that we shall gain in return will be a few jobs in the Executive Council for some ambitious Congressmen.

I shall now try to show that if the Congress accepts the offer the British Government and the Muslim League will profit at the expense of the Congress.

It is, I believe, the intention of Lord Wavell to give the Muslim League all the seats in the Executive Council reserved for Muslims if the Muslim League makes that demand. Similarly, he will give the Congress, all the seats reserved for "caste Hindus," if the Congress insists. The remaining members will be appointed by Lord Wavell, according to his own sweet will, and it goes without saying that these members will be completely subservient to him. It follows, therefore, that if the Viceroy can win over to his side, either the Congress Bloc or the Muslim League Bloc in the Executive Council, then he will have a permanent majority to stand by him at all times.

Bait To League

I take it that the Congress Bloc in the Executive Council cannot—and will not—enter into a pact with the Viceroy—because if they do so, they will be repudiated by the rank and file of the Congress. But if the Viceroy throws a bait to the Muslim League Bloc that the British Government will help them to realise their dream of Pakistan, then there is every likelihood of the Muslim League Bloc making a pact with the Viceroy. The moment this is done, the Viceroy will have a permanent majority in the Executive Council to stand by him at all times and the Congress Bloc will thereby be reduced to a permanent minority in that body.

Thus, if the offer is accepted, the British Government will profit by prosecuting the war with the help of the Congress and in the name of the Indian people. The Muslim League will benefit by reducing the Congress to a permanent minority in the Executive Council and by realising its dream of Pakistan with the help of the British Government.

I have referred above to what we shall lose by accepting the offer. I shall now say something as to what more we shall lose if the Congress co-operates with the British Government for a period of time. Firstly, the independence movement as well as the "freedom-mentality" of the Indian people will suffer a serious setback. By fighting Britain's imperialist war, the Congress will forget its revolutionary purpose and lose its spirit of militant nationalism. And lastly compromising with British Imperialism, the Congress will forfeit the sympathy of freedom-loving men and women all over the world and will lose the support of several friendly powers, including Soviet Russia.

Friends! Up till today, I have been considering Lord Wavell's offer from the purely political point of view and I have not considered its communal implications—but I shall do so now.

By accepting the offer, the Congress will incidentally—though it may be indirectly—accept the principle of communalism in politics. It will acknowledge the Muslim League as the representative of the Indian Muslims and it will thereby betray all those Muslim organisations—like the Azad Muslim League, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Shia Conference, Majlis-i-Ahrar, Praja Party, Muslim Majlis, All India Momin Party, etc.,—that have been following a nationalist line in politics at very great sacrifice. Moreover, the Congress will be forced to admit indirectly that the word "Congress" is conterminous with the word "Caste Hindu"—and not even with the word "Hindus." I am making this statement on the supposition that the seats reserved by the Viceroy for the "Caste Hindus" will be given to the Congress and those reserved for the Muslims will be given to the Muslim League—and that the member or members from the scheduled castes will be appointed by the Viceroy himself.

A Straight Question

Now, I would like to put a straight question to Lord Wavell. Among the Muslim members of the Executive Council, will he include outstanding Muslims of the type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who are not members of the Muslim League? And since the vast majority of the scheduled castes voters voted for Congress in the last election, will he leave it to the Congress to suggest an Executive Councillor from among the scheduled castes and not make the selection himself? If he does not do these—then it should be crystal clear that the Viceroy's sinister intention is to reduce the Congress into an organisation of the Caste Hindus. Let somebody apply this said test to Lord Wavell. The result of this test will then speak for itself.

Whatever the other objections to the Viceroy's offer may be, this single objection—namely, the communal implications of it—is enough to condemn that offer and render it totally unacceptable. The Congress is a national institution representing Indians of all religious faiths and it has fought hard and suffered much to maintain this national character. It will commit political suicide, if at this stage of its career, the Congress were to renounce its national character. Likewise, it will stultify itself once for all, if it gives up its role as the representative of the Indian masses and reduce itself to the position of a party, among many parties in India.

I should like to repeat what I said day-before-yesterday and again yesterday—namely, that if one is bent on a compromise with the British Government, he should, nevertheless, postpone negotiations till after the 5th of July. Lord Wavell will move heaven and earth in order to get a decision before the 5th of July. If he succeeds, then that will help the Conservative Party considerably at the polls and may possibly ensure its return to power. If Lord Wavell succeeds, but the Conservative Party fails to return to office, he will then be able to prevent the Labour Cabinet re-opening the Indian issue. Believe me when I say that if you do not accept this offer now and the Labour Party comes to power, then that Party is bound to take up the Indian issue. And if the Conservative Party returns to office it will also be constrained to make another offer, otherwise India will remain an international case to the great disadvantage of Britain. Thus, you will get another chance—and a better chance—of bargaining after the 5th of July. I say this for the consideration of only those who are really bent on following a course of compromise with Britain and who are not prepared to stand for complete independence.

Sisters and Brothers at home! In conclusion, let me remind you once again that, in this fateful hour, the destiny of India lies in your hands. You cannot afford to be indifferent and leave the responsibility exclusively to the Congress Working Committee. Therefore, carry on a raging and tearing campaign all over the country against this sinister offer—and see to it that this offer is consigned to the scrap-heap before the 5th of July, 1945.

MISSING

An adding machine (Remington, No. M75726, length 13 in. width 7 in. height 5 in.) has been missing from EIGA HAIKYU SYA, Orchard Road, Syonan, since 8 Rokugatu, 2605.

possession of it or those who know the whereabouts of the said machine, are requested to communicate with or call personally at the Somu Ka, Eiga Haikyu Sya. (Tel. 5871).

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